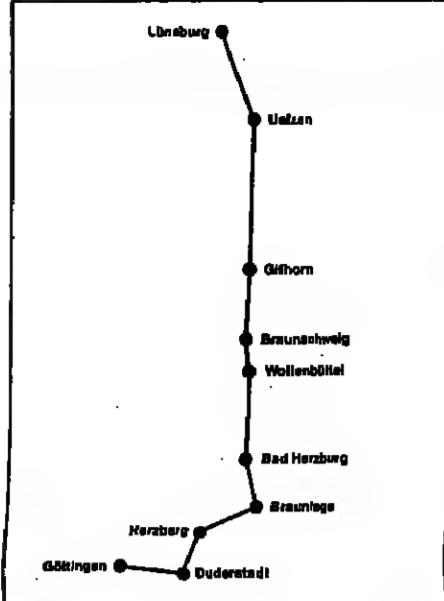


# Routes to tour in Germany



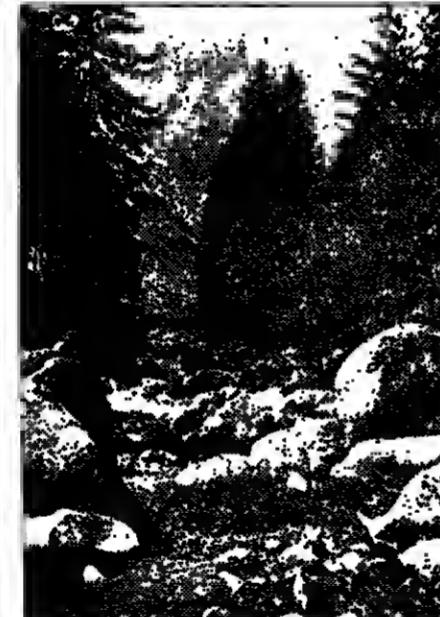
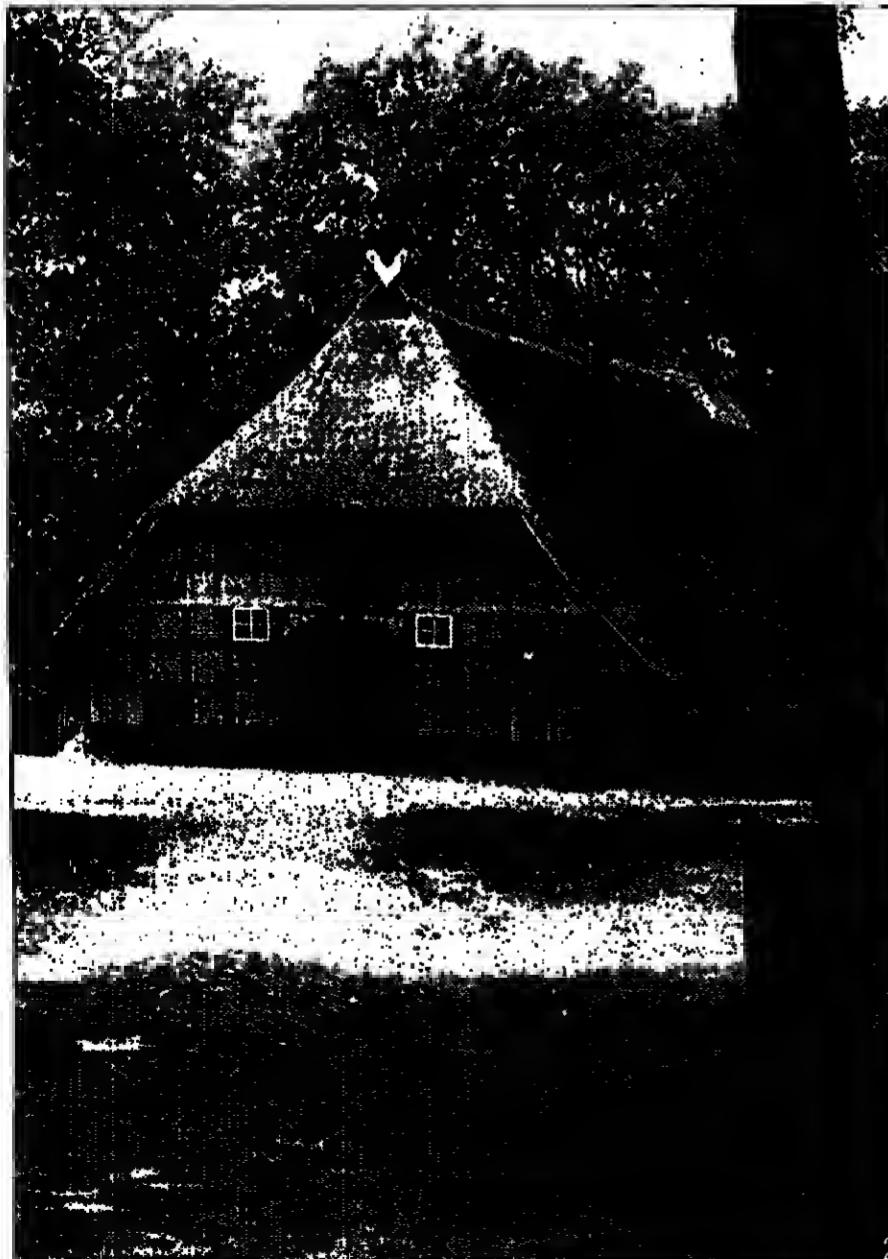
## The Harz and Heath Route



German roads will get you there — to areas at times so attractive that one route leads to the next, from the Harz mountains to the Lüneburg Heath, say. Maybe you should take a look at both. The Harz, northernmost part of the Mittelgebirge range, is holiday country all the year round. In summer for hikers, in winter for skiers in their tens of thousands. Tour from the hill resorts of Osterode, Clausthal-Zellerfeld or Bad Harzburg or from the 1,000-

year-old town of Goslar. The Heath extends from Celle, with its town centre of half-timbered houses unscathed by the war and the oldest theatre in Germany, to Lüneburg, also 1,000 years old. It boasts wide expanses of flat countryside, purple heather and herds of local curly-horned sheep.

Visit Germany and let the Harz and Heath Route be your guide.



- 1 Brunswick
- 2 An old Lüneburg Heath farmhouse
- 3 The Harz
- 4 Göttingen

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2

# The German Tribune

Hamburg, 11 June 1989  
Twenty-eighth year - No. 1373 - By air

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DEPOSE A BX X

## Nato emerges from the fray with maturity and flexibility

President Bush's speech in Mainz, after the Nato summit in Brussels, was a high-quality address partly intended to soothe German-American relations.

They needed soothing after the Brussels missile compromise. The missile modernisation dispute opened up wounds in both Washington and Bonn that will take time to heal.

For many Americans it was, in the final analysis, less a matter of the missiles themselves than of a much more far-reaching issue. How seriously did the Germans take Nato?

Worse still, were the Germans, who have historically been responsive to blandishments of this kind, in the process of succumbing to temptations from the East?

Not that any such suspicions were officially voiced. But influential US opinion, and not just zenlets, sees what has

Page 2: The Nato theatre: applause as Gorbachev takes on a dramatic production.

Page 3: The German Question: On to the stage in Vienna.

Page 4: Continuity means predictable policies, says Foreign Minister Ganserer.

come to be known as Genscherism as an inclination to drop German ties with the West.

The suspicion that a kind of Gorbachev euphoria might have swept the Federal Republic was bound to be even more upsetting on the other side of the Atlantic for having arisen while a CDU/CSU-FDP coalition held power in Bonn.

In the days of SPD Chancellor Helmut Schmidt the Bonn government was felt to be absolutely unwavering in its loyalty to Nato.

The child of yesteryear has succeeded in setting aside mere identification with Uncle Sam. It now feels able to go out on a limb and stand up for views of its own from time to time.

It naturally overdoes it on occasion. Public debate is spiced with fashionable anti-Americanism of a kind that irresponsibly overlooks the fundamental interests we share and the values we hold in common.

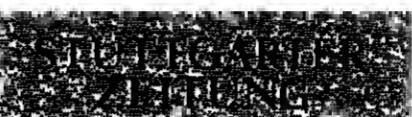
Transatlantic disputes never involve these fundamentals, however. They are invariably a matter of clashes of interest, on which even friendly countries can differ from time to time.

The short-range missiles dispute may even be a salutary lesson for the Americans. It may have taught them that readiness to take up cudgels in a political dispute isn't treason, merely an expression

of the realization that not even the most powerful country in the world can afford a long-term dispute with its foremost Continental Nato partner as long as it is keen to keep the North Atlantic pact alive and well.

President Bush was paying tribute to Richard von Weizsäcker's self-assured reminder that the Germans must not be regarded as suitable for use as a plaything in international affairs.

Herr von Weizsäcker's speech to mark the 40th anniversary of Basic Law, the 1949 Bonn constitution, was a clear sign



both at home and abroad, that the Federal Republic of Germany has come into its own as a democracy.

It is well aware of Germany's historic burden but has every intention of making its own way in the future. President Bush made it clear he views this trend sympathetically.

But Mr Reagan's successor linked this goodwill to a reminder of how it all began: with the readiness of the United States to assist in the reconstruction of war-torn Europe.

Post-war America lent the starving Germans in particular generous support and helped to smooth their way back into the community of civilised nations.

As years go by, memories of this initial state of affairs progressively pale. Memories of the post-war period when America appeared to be the Golden West, showering blessings from its cornucopia, stayed fresh until well into the 1960s.

Those were the days when the groundwork was laid for what is still hailed as German-American friendship. It began as a kind of father-child relationship, but now the Federal Republic can stand for itself, due to no small extent to US aid, the relationship is, as it were, one between two adults.

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After 25 years, the Wall opens up for a Berlin festival

EDUCATION Page 12

Too many school pupils and not enough university places



The stars of the show before the atripe: President Bush (left) with Chancellor Kohl in Mainz. (Photo: Mirko Krizanovic)

## People's army kills the people: reverberations in Hong Kong

Shock and bewilderment have greeted the news from Peking. Does the bloodshed mean the violent end of the democracy movement after weeks of hope?

The rulers of today's largely reformed China were no longer credited with being capable of sending the troops in to massacre innocent people, students, children, women and old men.

Deng Xiaoping is clearly to blame. Did he not hint at the end of April that it mightn't be so bad if blood were shed in crushing the student unrest? The very idea is appalling.

Deng '84, has succeeded once more in persuading part of a divided army to teach their fellow-countrymen a 'dreadful' lesson.

He and his willing helper Li Peng are already being condemned as criminals by members of the Chinese Communist Party.

The effect on China and the world of the Chinese rulers' decision to send in the troops to restore order in Peking cannot be foreseen. Deng's much-vaunted

*Continued on page 3*

## ■ INTERNATIONAL

## The Nato theatre: applause as curtain falls on a dramatic production

The play is over, the curtain has fallen, the applause has been heartfelt. The cast are holding hands and taking their bow before the audience.

They include the no-longer-so-young hero from Bonn, the cause of unrest for having called for new thinking.

Then there is the strict British government, who insisted on decorum and good manners, and the uncle from overseas who took the two squabblers by the hand and reconciled them at the last minute.

But last not least, there is the trusty major-domo, Nato secretary-general Manfred Wörner, all smiles at the happy end.

The no-longer-young hero is Hans-Dietrich Genscher, Foreign Minister of the Federal Republic of Germany and the guarantor of his party the FDP's political survival.

Early in 1987, when the INF Treaty scrapping US and Soviet medium-range missiles was already on the horizon and Bonn's Nato allies were pressing for the introduction of new short-range nuclear missiles, he played for time.

An overall concept on arms control and disarmament must be drawn up and approved before a decision could be reached on missile modernisation, he argued.

The West must be prepared to negotiate with the East on this, as on other issues. Besides, total elimination of short-range missiles must not be ruled out.

Keeping options open was Herr Genscher's keyword. Whenever hard-pressed Nato officials in Brussels applied to Bonn for instructions on drawing up the celebrated overall concept they drew a blank.

The Federal Republic's foremost allies grew increasingly suspicious — and these were suspicions not even Chancellor Kohl could dispel — that the West Germans might no longer be fully behind Nato's nuclear deterrent strategy.

The strict British governess was Margaret Thatcher of No. 10, Downing Street. Like Herr Genscher, she too was pressing for changes, but for changes of her own.

He was for keeping options open, she for committing the North Atlantic alliance to a firm policy.

Now that East-West ties were on the move it was particularly important for the West to stick to its tried and trusted strategy, she lectured her allies at all Nato gatherings, trying to keep the Federal Republic on a shorter relo.

The old Nato decision to introduce new short-range missiles must be observed to the letter. Negotiations must on no account be held.

Mrs Thatcher had endorsed the first zero solution — on the elimination of land-based missiles with a range of between 1,000 and 5,000 kilometres.

She had endorsed the second zero solution — on scrapping land-based missiles with a range of between 500 and 1,000 kilometres.

But a third zero solution, scrapping short-range missiles, was anathema.

Many are the surmises on why Mrs Thatcher is so insistent on this point. In Bonn some feel it is a pique on a former world power's part at the role assumed by the upstart Federal Republic.

Britain's special role is limited nowadays to the nuclear sector, and this was

an opportunity Mrs Thatcher was determined to use to the full.

The truth may be more straightforward. Mrs Thatcher prefers to lead with her chin. She has no patience with wets on either side of the Channel.

So she fearlessly takes up her cudgels and, no doubt, is keen to show her cousins on the other side of the Atlantic where Nato ought to be heading.

The good uncle is US President Bush, a man who might prefer, given his origins and experience, to err on the side of caution.

He certainly would not like to jeopardise the tried and trusted framework of Western security, especially at a time of sweeping changes.

Yet he, like most of his closest associates, belongs to a generation for whom America's leadership of the West is a matter of course.

The Brussels summit was planned as his first major appearance on the international stage, but the tiresome dispute between Bonn and Whitehall threatened to upset the apple cart.

President Bush's first response was in keeping with his reputation for pragmatism: he showed signs of coming round to the other side's view.

When Chancellor Kohl, hard hit by the drubbing the CDU had taken at the polls in Berlin, told him in February that Bonn could not possibly endorse for the time being the stationing of new short-range missiles in the Federal Republic, President Bush said he appreciated the problem.

In April Nato Defence Ministers reaffirmed that the Federal Republic was de facto entitled to veto the stationing of new missiles on its territory.

Shortly after this statement the President even agreed that in principle negoti-

ations might be held with the Soviet Union on scrapping short-range missiles.

But they could not be held until the Vienna talks on conventional arms reduction in Europe had arrived at tangible results.

Yet the Bonn government, which by now was strictly following the course set by Herr Genscher, felt this was not enough. The Brussels summit still risked coming to symbolise Atlantic strife, not Atlantic unity.

While Bonn and Whitehall were still busy raising the stakes with emphatic demands, President Bush conferred with his closest advisers in his holiday retreat 11 days before the Brussels deadline.

In strict seclusion they paved the way for a surprise move that was intended to demonstrate America's leadership and to take the edge off the missile dispute that loomed so large over the Nato summit.

But when the British delegation realised it might end up on a limb it eventually climbed down. At 7.20 a.m. on 30 May Mrs Thatcher finally approved the compromise.

They seem to have succeeded. President Bush has acknowledged the priority conventional disarmament deserves.

At the Vienna talks it had grown increasingly clear that the Soviet Union was keen to come to terms if only Nato would agree to consider reducing conventional aircraft and helicopters too.

They also took home an undertaking

to hold talks with the East on these missiles, although the deadline will depend on how successful the Vienna talks are.

Provided the Russians play ball, negotiations might be held in a year or two.

And Whitehall? "Margaret Thatcher was a good loser," as one shrewd observer of the Brussels scene put it. She lost so well that she was even able to pose to the Press as the true winner. "We are entirely satisfied," she said. "We have arrived at a solution on short-range missiles, and there will be no third zero solution."

Mrs Thatcher, her eyes aglow, was sure a great deal of water will flow down the Danube before the first stage of talks is completed in Vienna and a solution can be made on conventional arms reduction.

Besides, any reduction agreed must first be painstakingly monitored before talks on short-range missiles can be considered.

What is more, where the third zero solution is concerned, she stressed the passages in the overall concept which emphasised that only a partial reduction in short-range missiles can be considered (the word "partial" is underlined in the Nato document).

For the foreseeable future land-based missiles must continue to be based in Europe. Asked how the Germans felt about that, she said: "Read what it says here. They have signed the document. So that's that."

As for Uncle George, President Bush got off to an impressive start. It was clear from the unpretentious and good-humoured way in which he talked to the Press how happy he and his advisers were that the summit had been a success.

Once again America had arrived on the scene, like a *deus ex machina*, to extract Nato from its predicament.

So the Nato summit was a happy — until next time. The controversial issues may not have been solved once and for all, but the edge was taken off them. Above all, the crisis ended in Nato making an appreciable headway.

The West no longer cuts a sterile, narrow-minded figure while East bloc suitors make one disarmament approach after another. That is arguably the ageing male lead's finest achievement.

"By means of its urging" says a long-standing Nato pundit, "the Federal Republic has helped readiness for change which was there under the surface everywhere, to make a breakthrough."

Nato has always thrived on crises and proved its worth in solving them. The applause for the Brussels cast was well deserved.

For all its theatricals the Brussels summit was far from being the worst birthday present Nato could have been given to mark its 40th anniversary.

Christoph Bertram  
(Die Zeit, Hamburg, 2 June 1989)

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This presupposes greater Soviet com-

promise in the question of category definitions.

In its demands in this field the Warsaw Pact has so far always referred to "strike aircraft", in which the Nato has a lead, and ignores the category of the fighter-interceptors of the Soviet home defence.

Nato estimates that the Soviets have 7,000 technologically sophisticated aircraft in this category, which can be equipped with both conventional and nuclear weapons.

Whereas Moscow must revise its position on "strike aircraft" Nato will have to apply different enumeration criteria for helicopters.

Here too, Bush wants to move down to a level 15 per cent beneath the current Nato ceiling. The question is in what categories?

The Nato claims that it has 2,419 helicopters, whereas the Warsaw Pact insists that Nato has 5,270 helicopters — including those belonging to the American fleet.

Nato puts the total number of Warsaw Pact helicopters at 3,700, the Warsaw Pact itself claims to have only 2,785.

How will Gorbachov react to Bush's troop reduction proposal?

In his speech to the United Nations in New York Gorbachov announced unilateral troop reductions totalling 500,000 men by 1991.

In Vienna the Soviet Union supplemented this plan by adding its proposal for a national ceiling for troops to the Urals of 920,000 men, which would mean a demobilisation of 1.3 million soldiers.

Moscow would like to see both alliances move from the current level of two million men respectively in the negotiating area (which, just like the weapons, is split up into zones, with the Soviets leaving more troops in the alliance member states than China to a respective figure of 1.35 million).

The proposal forwarded by President Bush only refers to American troops, not to those of other Nato partners, which the Soviets on the other hand include in their calculations.

If things stay that way the President's proposal is far below the demands for a reduction of one million men, which, according to the Warsaw Pact, Nato would have to effect.

Furthermore, the Bush proposal means that, during the initial phase of the realisation of a conventional stability agreement, the Warsaw Pact would have to scrap roughly 10,000 tanks within two years.

The West, therefore, no longer reacts to Gorbachov's proposals, but invites the Soviet leader, whose country is faced by serious economic problems and a need to reduce its excessive armament level, to react himself.

It will soon become clear in Vienna whether the political initiative developed by Bush will lead to concrete results.

The elation of the Brussels summit will be followed by the more mundane slog of negotiations...

Nato's "High Level Task Force" sees its scope of supervision over the Vienna negotiations extended.

Things are not going to be any easier. It is not clear whether the momentum which achieved the double zero solution for medium-range missiles can have the same kind of success in the much more complicated field of conventional arms.

To meet the schedule targeted by Bush the arms control negotiations would have to make headway at a hitherto unknown pace...

The exact moment when, according to the Brussels agreement, negotiations can be held on short-range missiles remains uncertain.

Even for the Soviet Union the bloodshed in China may turn out to have a signal effect. Additional uncertainty about Soviet reforms might gain ground.

"When China rises, the world will shake," Napoleon said. Is this still true?

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 1 June 1989)

Continued from page 1

## ■ SECURITY POLICY

## And now on to the hard slog in Vienna

Frankfurter Allgemeine  
ZEITUNG FÜR DEUTSCHLAND

# Role of the German Question in East-West relations

Paul Frnk, state secretary in the Bonn Foreign Office at the beginning of the 70s, was one of the outstanding architects of the SPD-FDP coalition government's Ostpolitik.

German-Soviet relations on the eve of Gorbachov's visit to Germany find themselves in this situation.

Many treaties and agreements, all of which are designed to promote the exchange of people and ideas, are scheduled to be signed during the visit.

Only two agreements, dealing with the organisation of maritime and inland shipping, are marked by the uncertainty of whether an acceptable Berlin clause can be found.

What appears to be a stumbling-block of marginal significance, however, indicates the sensitive character of German-Soviet relations.

The repeated search for formulations able to do justice to the Berlin interests of both countries reflects the basic problem confronting the German-Soviet relationship: the unresolved question of what, sooner or later, is to happen to the two German states.

In the Federal Republic of Germany there is a stereotyped reference to the "reunification" perspective, marked by a Europe clause.

The new situation in Moscow has revived this discussion. A growing number of people in Germany are looking expectantly to Moscow in the hope that Gorbachov's political concept will include a plan at the end of which there is a possible German reunification.

Bonn's official policy has not been able to completely evade the pressure of such expectations.

During his visit to Moscow in autumn last year Chancellor Kohl also raised the German Question. He was sure of the support of conservative circles back home.

There is plenty of speculation in Bonn government circles about whether the Soviet leader will confront his host with "limbering-up exercises" in the field of Deutschlands politik when he visits Germany.

Even Kohl's adviser, Horst Teltschik, toys with such speculations, even though he does not expect "spectacular offers" in the near future.

Anyone who talks to Soviet experts on Germany inside and outside of the Kremlin senses that this question is being considered in Moscow. A clear concept, however, is not in sight.

Günter Gaus characterises the ideas circulating in Moscow as a kind of "fruitful perplexity."

This atmosphere would inevitably be dampened or set back if the Germans start to impatiently shuffle their feet in the near future.

As the Soviet Union is not blind to what is happening within its own sphere of influence and does not prevent the Hungarians and Poles from engaging in democratic finger exercises it apparently views its security policy situation at the end of the 1980s with much more composure than in the past.

This at any rate is the opinion held in government circles in Bonn. If this analysis is correct such a development would bound to affect East-West relations as a whole.

If it is true that the East-West conflict is connected to a substantial degree with the German Question it will hardly be

Continued on page 11

## ■ INTERVIEW

## Continuity means predictable policies, says Foreign Minister Genscher

Fifteen years ago, on 17 May 1974, Free Democrat Hans-Dietrich Genscher took over as Foreign Minister under SPD Chancellor Helmut Schmidt after five years at the helm of the Interior Ministry. Herr Genscher is the longest-serving member of the Bonn government and the longest-serving Foreign Minister in the world. He was out of office for a fortnight when the FDP resigned from Chancellor Schmidt's government in September 1982 but returned on 1 October when the Free Democrats threw in their lot with Chancellor Helmut Kohl and the Christian Democrats. He is here interviewed for the Bonn daily *General-Anzeiger* by Wolf J. Bell shortly before the Nato summit.

**Question:** Continuity, Minister, has been the guiding principle of German foreign policy in your 15 years in office. But what does continuity mean today, given the swift pace of major changes? Do they warrant a reappraisal and re-evaluation of our foreign policy cornerstones?

**Answer:** Continuity means pursuing straight-lined, predictable policies. They must stay attuned to changing circumstances, but there is no change in our foreign policy essentials.

They are our geographical situation in the heart of Europe, our history, our value judgement in favour of freedom and human dignity, our membership — as a Western-style democracy — of the European Community and Nato, and our close ties with France and the United States.

We are also bound by our constitutional commitments. They are why we decided in favour of the West and of freedom and democracy and why we also feel bound to help keep the peace in Europe, including a German contribution toward bridging the gap between East and West.

Our history has never belonged to us alone, and it never will. So German foreign policy must always form part of European peace policy. Any attempt to "de-Europeanise" it would take us into a national maze and down a blind alley.

**Q:** The Federal Republic has never allowed the slightest doubt to be cast on its ties with the West. How do you account for the fact that Nato, having pursued the policies that brought about all the changes, has now, so shortly before achieving its objective, been plunged into such a crisis of confidence? What has gone wrong?

**A:** There hasn't been a crisis of confidence in the Atlantic alliance. We will see that the Nato summit in Brussels does more than look back on 40 years of peace and freedom in this part of Europe.

Its real task is to develop the pact's political strategy toward the East. Measured by this yardstick it was entirely out of proportion to make a decision on a single weapon system, short-range missiles, out to be the crux of Nato's 40th anniversary summit.

**Q:** Do you, then, feel there is no threat to Ostpolitik from the West on the eve of Mr Gorbachev's visit to Bonn?

**A:** Yes, I do. All Western countries, including the United States, can be said to be interested in putting to good use the opportunities of improving relations presented by reform trends in the Soviet Union.

Washington has major moves in mind to promote reforms in Poland, and President Bush has reaffirmed that the United States is appreciative of progress made so far in the Soviet Union and keen to see further progress achieved.

Views thus run parallel, which is bound to find expression in our joint political strategy.

The fundamental question to be asked in connection with our attitude toward recent developments in the East is, inevitably, are they in our interest?

**Q:** Yes or no? I say they are, and it follows that everything must be done to enter constructively into the spirit of these developments.

**A:** Our foreign policy has exercised a decisive influence on such promising progress having been made in Europe. Take, for one, the European Community's decision to set a deadline for the single internal market. This decision has triggered a dynamic process that is one of the most significant developments in international affairs and is seen and appreciated to be that by outsiders.

The example set by the European Community is exerting a constantly growing attraction, especially for the socialist states.

On the other hand we are experiencing the reform trend in the Soviet Union and in other socialist states — a different dynamic development that will lead to greater readiness for East-West cooperation.

These are dynamic processes that are not dividing Europe; they are bringing it closer together. That is how times are changing politically.

Yet it doesn't mean we must turn our backs on the East and behave as though Europe ends at the intra-German border.

**Q:** The accusation that Bonn's Ostpolitik is guided mainly by considerations of economic interest in the Eastern European market also plays a part in the present debate...

**A:** That is an accusation which is both foolish and indicative of a lack of competence on the subject. We are all in favour of our partners aiming at economic cooperation with the Soviet Union. We have no ambition of establishing a monopoly in the European Community.

Given the close cooperation between the superpowers in the final phase of the Reagan administration and President Bush's recent speeches, it would hardly be right to refer to Bonn's role as having been that of a vanguard in the alliance.

We have undeniably urged others to press ahead, but that is in keeping with our responsibility to preserve the peace in Europe and with our position as a divided nation in the heart of Europe.

**Q:** What conclusions must the European Community now reach in respect of other Europeans — of Efta and the Common states?

**A:** The leading role Bonn has played in East-West ties is particularly apparent in the CSCE process, as it is in European disarmament policy.

Do you share the expectation of your Soviet counterpart, Mr Shevardnadze, that specific results might be achieved in a year or two at the Vienna talks on conventional forces?

**A:** I share this expectation now the Soviet Union, in its latest proposals, has largely agreed with the West not only conceptually but, apart from a few problems of definition, on key data for the limitation of tanks, armoured infantry vehicles and field guns.

This is another of the great successes of German foreign policy, pursued jointly with France. It is why we are now in so promising a position at the talks on conventional stability from the Atlantic to the Ural and thus on the fundamental issue of European security.

**Q:** You have called the CSCE process a central instrument of East-West policy and a step in the direction of a European peace order. Has it not long basically served in effect as a peace order?

**A:** It most definitely has, but the peace order cannot be based solely on an improvement in relations between states.

Its foundations must also include developments in the situation within countries,

given that it will boost their ability to continue with the process of opening up to the West.

And let no-one underestimate the fact that we Germans feel a sense of responsibility for peace all over Europe. We may be part of the West, but that doesn't alter the fact that nations live to our east who suffered dreadfully during the Second World War, which Hitler started 50 years ago.

They are entitled to expect us to stay on good terms and maintain cordial relations with them.

**Q:** Some Western commentators suggest that the Germans have covert ambitions to abandon their ties with the West for the vague aim of reunification. What part do the two German states have to play in all-European developments?

**A:** By the terms of the 1972 Basic Treaty the two German states have undertaken obligations best described as a "community of responsibility".

They have since numbered among those



Foreign Minister for 15 years...  
Hans-Dietrich Genscher. (Photo: Poly-Press)

## ■ EUROPE 1992

## Bangemann in vanguard of emerging group of free-market liberals

Free trade, says the European Commission's Martin Bangemann, is first and foremost an act of charity of the kind that begins at home: "It does us good, not the others."

This economic credo of the former FDP leader, Bonn Economic Affairs Minister and veteran Eurocrat is the guideline he intends to use at the European Commission in Brussels.

He plans to use Europe's gala industry, the motor trade, to demonstrate his point.

If the burly German Liberal has his way, the 17-member European Commission will make it clear that a fresh breeze of international competition is to invigorate the past-1992 European car market.

There must be not the slightest whiff of a "Fortress Europe."

A frank, easy-going and gregarious person with the gift of the gab, Herr Bangemann has had little difficulty in establishing cordial ties with his fellow-commissioners.

And in this respect in particular there is much that we can do to help make sure of success.

**Q:** Is it not asking too much of Bonn to expect it to lead the field in this way?

Ought our foreign policy not to try harder to promote understanding and generate support within the Western alliance?

**A:** Franco-German unity, crucially important, works. It works both in Nato and in the European Community.

Given the close cooperation between the superpowers in the final phase of the Reagan administration and President Bush's recent speeches, it would hardly be right to refer to Bonn's role as having been that of a vanguard in the alliance.

We have undeniably urged others to press ahead, but that is in keeping with our responsibility to preserve the peace in Europe and with our position as a divided nation in the heart of Europe.

**Q:** What conclusions must the European Community now reach in respect of other Europeans — of Efta and the Common states?

**A:** The leading role Bonn has played in East-West ties is particularly apparent in the CSCE process, as it is in European disarmament policy.

Must not, economic considerations apart, keep its political options open? Can it stick without reservations to the concept of European Union?

**A:** A European Union cannot just, it must be consistently implemented. But it must be open to democratic states that fulfil the requirements and want to join, with all the rights and obligations membership entails.

And it must stay cooperative toward those who opt for cooperation. It must show a high degree of readiness to cooperate with the Efta countries which are nearest to us — and not just geographically.

It must also be ready for increasingly close cooperation with the Comecon states, the degree of cooperation being subjected to the progress of reform in individual Comecon countries.

**Q:** So could the European Community one day be a home for all Europeans?

**A:** That is a question that extends far into the future, and the answer is not for the European Community to make it a decision each country must reach for itself. No-one must forget that the European Community is not just an economic combine but an association of states with perfectly harmonious value-judgements and an association of free democracies.

**Q:** What about the organisation of Western European defence? Is progress

Continued on page 6

nese exports virtually unchanged at 4.4 million units.

Productivity is Europe's main problem. Japanese car workers take only 19 hours to make a car. US auto workers take 26 hours and European car workers 36 hours to do so.

Even worse, 44 per cent of the cars that roll off Japanese assembly lines need repairing before they are sold. The corresponding figures in the United States and Western Europe are 87 and 90 per cent.

The Japanese are front runners in investment and financing too. On average they recoup 2.2 times their investment in annual cash flow. The leading European carmakers, Volkswagen, Fiat and Peugeot, can only claim to recoup 1.3 times their investment in cash flow.

Besides, the Japanese are now investing 60 per cent of their overall cash input in research and development. In Europe, Herr Bangemann says, only specialists such as Daimler-Benz can hold their own with this figure.

Five member-countries of the European Community (Britain, France, Italy, Portugal and Spain) more or less strictly limit imports of Japanese cars.

Yet the Japanese still account for a 9.3-per-cent share of car sales in the European Community, whereas European carmakers account for a paltry three per cent of cars sold in Japan.

Three guidelines have yet to be approved before the single internal market is in fact where European cars are concerned. They involve technical harmonisation of wind-screens, tyres and weights and measures.

France has blocked agreement on these guidelines since 1976.

In this way the French have successfully stymied agreement on uniform licensing arrangements for new models that would have enabled Japanese cars to circulate freely within the Community and knock the French import restrictions into a cocked hat.

The French still have this ploy at their disposal to savage Herr Bangemann's fine idea of throwing markets wide open, on which the European Commission can now arrive at a decision, being in charge of Community trade policy.

Yet the Commission still needs the approval by the Council of Ministers of the three shelved guidelines if it is to put free trade into effect.

Otherwise member-countries that still have a penchant for protectionism would continue to be able to resort to administrative subterfuges by which to keep Japanese cars out.

Herr Bangemann plans to present new versions of the three guidelines by the end of the year.

The Council of Ministers will then have to arrive at a decision on them. A qualified majority is needed to give them the go-ahead. What this means in effect is that two large member-countries and one among one can jointly veto a majority.

It will be interesting to see how much the European Commission's free trade trio will need to water down their aims to ensure the support of a sufficient number of member-governments.

A decision by the European Commission alone, no matter how soon it is reached and how final it may sound, cannot entirely lay the ghost of a "Fortress Europe" for the motor industry.

**Petra Münster**  
(Rheinischer Merkur/Christ und Welt,  
Bonn, 26 May 1989)



Will he have to water down his wine?..

(Photo: Week)

Cosseted European carmakers will then be allowed a further three-year transitional period, if he has his way. In this period

Japanese carmakers will be requested to exercise self-restraint in exports to Europe along lines similar to their self-restraint in exports to the United States.

Once this three-year transitional period is over, the European car market will be totally deregulated, with no discrimination or special requirements in respect of investment either.

Mr Brittan plans to keep an eye on over-eager regional authorities. They are to be prevented from laying out subsidies so generously that one carmaker after another sets up a new factory in the European Community, leading to serious overcapacity.

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## ■ THE ECONOMY

# An affluent society which rose from rubble of war

People in that part of Germany in the political west have a standard of living higher than any German society has ever had. Production is higher than ever before.

This is 44 years after the war, from the ruins of which Germany emerged like a phoenix from the ashes. Today it is, with Japan and the United States, one of the three leading industrial nations.

In 1948 the Swiss economist Wilhelm Röpke wrote: "Germany has been destroyed and turned into chaos the extent of which cannot be imagined by anybody who has not physically seen it."

A good three decades later, the Bonn Economics Minister of the time, Count Otto Lambsdorff, said: "A country which was shattered and starving has moved into the leading group of industrial nations, with a social-welfare network which is unparalleled in the world."

"All this was attained thanks ... above all, to an economic system which encouraged efficiency and rewarded achievement."

This was a reference to the social market economy, which together with the foundation of Germany created the decisive prerequisite for progress and prosperity 40 years ago.

Particularly since the 1960s, there has been an undreamt-of development of prosperity for society as a whole.

More and more households have been able to afford high-quality consumer durables, such as deep-freeze refrigerators, washing machines, dishwashers, telephones, television sets and stereo units.

Owning a car, very often two, going on holiday abroad, enjoying more leisure time and relaxation than ever before are (almost) taken for granted.

The statistics of the Federal Statistical Office in Wiesbaden show that the provision of the population with goods and services has increased more than fivefold in real terms between 1950 and 1988.

Due to the parallel increase in the population figure the increase in the standard of living has not been quite so high.

Nevertheless, per capita private consumption in real terms has more than quadrupled during the same period.

A comparison between the 10 major industrialised countries reveals that, allowing for respective inflation rates, the highest increase in wages and salaries has been in Germany.

German workers can claim this leading position even though nominal incomes

have increased at a much lower rate than in most other countries.

This means that the cost of living in Germany has risen much more slowly than elsewhere.

Taking the real private consumption of goods and services as a point of reference, the standard of living has increased by an average of roughly four per cent per annum since the beginning of the 1950s.

Whereas the average gross monthly income per employee increased from DM243 to DM3,288 (1988) the net income increased during the same period, after tax and social security contributions, from DM213 to DM2,195.

Even allowing for inflation gross incomes, therefore, have more than quadrupled in real terms.

Rising income levels and growing prosperity led to a growing significance in private consumption of those goods and services which serve to satisfy what could be termed sophisticated needs.

In comparison to the total consumption figure, on the other hand, the significance of basic needs has generally declined.

A four-person middle-income household at the beginning of the 50s, for example, still had to spend over half of its total expenditure on food, beverages and tobacco.

Today, the expenditure share of this category of goods has fallen to just over a fifth of the household budget.

This development has been accompanied by a corresponding increase in expenditure on cars, holidays and leisure

time, on more sophisticated household appliances, and on services, in particular those offered by banks and insurance companies.

Goods and services in the transport and communication category accounted for less than four per cent of the household budget back at the beginning of the 50s; in the second half of the 80s each household allocated almost a sixth of its budget to expenditures in this category.

Furthermore, the share of expenditures on rent, goods and services, education and entertainment, electricity, gas and fuels has also increased.

The Institut der deutschen Wirtschaft in Cologne calculated that the hourly income of an industrial worker in the Federal Re-

Continued from page 4

tic instability pose for foreign policy and its ability to act at this crucial juncture?

A: I wouldn't refer to risks, but the Federal government's foreign policy needs to be fully endorsed by all coalition parties.

At my view the European democracies need a common defence identity too. They can only find it in the Western European Union, which is why we and France have revamped the WEU.

A revitalised WEU will not only strengthen the alliance as a whole; it will also facilitate the process by which it arrives at decisions, which is essential at a time of great political dynamism when a wealth of ideas and swift reactions are called for.

In setting up their joint security and defence council France and the Federal Republic of Germany set an example, as they have done in connection with all new processes in Europe.

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A: There is no commonsense context in which it can be called into question. It is more to its credit than to its detriment that it consistently and realistically pursues its basic outlines, that it has perspectives for and visions of the future and that it attempts to enlist the support of others for these future perspectives.

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## ■ FINANCE

## Sudden loss in appeal of savings banks

Germans are turning away from the traditional savings account as a form of saving, says the Bundesbank, the central bank. Last year, there was an alarming drop in the amount of money going into savings accounts.

It is not surprising. Such accounts are used by banks to finance themselves cheaply. Interest rates are tiny. Some banks offer as little as 2 per cent.

Most offer 2.5 per cent. The interest only becomes really interesting with rates between three per cent (the KKB Bank) and 4.1 per cent (the Augsburger Aktienbank).

Long-term deposits — there are a few exceptions — are not very attractive.

The Bundesbank says that over the past few years, domestic investors have been looking to foreign capital markets and foreign currency dealings.

And why not? In the 1988 financial year, these yields were good after currency adjustments. In Tokyo these amounted to 52.4 per cent, in Sydney 50 per cent and in Paris 46.9 per cent; Frankfurt was way behind with an index increase of 27.1 per cent.

Then shores in Frankfurt in the cur-

Continued from page 7

between business partners, distrust can never be totally ruled out.

Asian contains the most secret information. What is decisive for every use is the question to whom he should hand over this information.

Hans-Georg Junginger, development chief at Grundig, was clear in his mind. He said that it was vitally important that systems know-how should remain in the company.

This is precisely the purpose of Jesi. Users will be put in the position to develop their own ideas so far that they only have to be put out for production.

Most ASI factories are at present in America. Just this once Japan is behind, so Europe has good opportunities.

Because conventional chip producers are interested in mass production of the same type, many are already fearing that medium-sized firms will be left by the wayside.

The basic problem is recognised, however. According to Hans Weinert, a director of Philips, Europe has a much wider basis for systems knowledge than America or the countries in the Pacific, because of its many medium-sized companies.

"This knowledge will flow to Japan, South Korea and America, if we do not build up an independent European microelectronic industry," said Weinert.

The Japanese are looking quite calmly towards the west. The leading Japanese economics magazine *Nikkei Keizai Shinbun* recently commented rather benevolently that the West was eventually catching up with the four-megabit chip, particularly Siemens' show of strength.

The magazine's statement that "Japanese producers no longer totally dominate the world market," will not shock the elite of Japanese chip producers.

Günther Lüttge

(Die Zeit, Hamburg, 26 May 1989)

rent year have moved neither up nor down much, while many international stock exchanges are showing a plus of between 20 and 40 per cent.

The reasons for the change in attitude were: the introduction of a domestic withholding tax (almost certainly now about to be abolished), high external interest rates and the gains that can be made on currency exchange deals.

The Bundesbank observed a change in the habits of small savers such as working people on low incomes. They were now more ready to take risks with their money and invest in shares than they used to be.

This could be a warning, for when the man on the street buys shares, this is a sign that an upturn is soon about to have reached its peak.

Nevertheless foreign loan still offers attractive interest rates.

In a recent survey by the People's Banks and the Agricultural Credit Cooperatives the relatively stable ecu offers a yield of 8.5 per cent, US dollar loan about 9.5 per cent, Canadian securities as much as 11 per cent, New Zealand Kiwi Loan even offers 12.5 per cent.

Despite such marked tendencies in 1988 to risk bonds it should not be forgotten that most private investors put safety first.

More than a half of their investment was in fixed-interest securities. Three-quarters of these securities were domestic fixed-interest securities.

Mortgage bonds profited from this since they yield by a hairsbreadth more than government loan.

Recently mortgage loan with a remaining term of four years yielded 7.3 per cent while government loan yield was 7.23 per cent.

Administrative expert Professor Littmann from Speyer expressed doubt whether the abolition of the tax in the form planned was constitutional. He said that tax-payer honesty would suffer.

Professor Hinkel from Bremen finally spoke of a "bereavement for the Federal Republic's tax legislation."

Like others he criticised that the withholding tax was too complicated and administratively expensive to collect.

## Dollars and marks: how far will the yo-yo go?

Speculation has again been rife about whether the Central Bank Council would or would not decide to raise interest rates for the third time this year.

From the international economic point of view nothing much has changed since the council last met 14 days ago.

The Federal Republic's economy is in full swing, prices are only rising slowly and there has been a decline in the unemployment figure. Nothing much has changed abroad either. Washington, just as before, is battling with the national debt and the foreign trade deficit — with only limited success.

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(Die Zeit, Hamburg, 26 May 1989)

## Sharp dispute on merits of scrapping withholding tax

A tax on certain capital gains has always been payable but in practice seldom enforced. The government introduced a withholding tax under which banks and other financial institutions were to deduct tax at source. The outcry against the tax, which only came into effect at the beginning of the year, was one reason for a decision by the Bundestag. Heinz Murmann reports for the Cologne daily, *Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger*.

Banks have welcomed the decision to abolish the withholding tax. This became clear at a public hearing of the Bundestag's finance committee.

But several professors were sharply critical. They said this was opening the way for tax evasion.

Legislation abolishing the tax should be approved before the Bundestag's summer recess.

Financial expert Professor Rüppel from Darmstadt said at the public hearing that after passing the legislation the tax on interest income will degenerate into a "stupid tax."

Anyone who evades taxes can count on not being prosecuted, he said, adding that the concept of equal taxation will become a泡 (bubble).

He also pointed out that after the abolition of withholding tax the regulations restricting the tax authorities' rights to investigate private people's bank accounts will continue to apply.

He said: "The concept of taxing returns on capital is torn to shreds by doing this."

Lawyer Arndt from Mannheim said that the abolition of the tax meant "bowing down to tax evaders." He said that the process had become indigestible about the tax on interest.

The vice-president of the Bundesbank, Helmut Schlesinger, took the same line as Herr Geiger against the tax-audit tracer notes. He said that the attempt to tax income at source had shown how quickly investors' faith could be shaken. He said this should not be repeated.

Herr Schlesinger drew attention to the fact that as a consequence of withholding tax there had been a marked flight of capital out of the Federal Republic.

Heinz Murmann

(Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger, Cologne, 1 June 1989)

## ■ ASTRONOMY

## Back through history to the Year Zero

Astronomers are in the throes of an optical revolution. Reflecting telescopes of unprecedented size will hopefully enable them to widen their horizons billions of light years into the universe.

The block of molten glass from which the lens of the Calar Alto telescope in southern Spain was made originally weighed 26 tonnes.

Heated to a temperature of 1,600°C, it took 146 days to cool down, and a further 254 days to complete further ceramic treatment.

This process, involving further heating and cooling, transforms glass into a material known as Zerodur that virtually no longer expands when heated.

The resulting blank took a further three and a half years to grind and polish. It then weighed 13 tonnes and was 65 cm (25.6 in) thick and 3.5 metres (11 ft 6 in) in diameter.

Indeed, telescopes of the size and power of the German reflector in Spain are forerunners of an entirely new generation.

Since 1985 it has been the centrepiece of the German telescope at Calar Alto, 2,160 metres (7,027 ft), in southern Spain.

It is so powerful that it could be used to look, from Spain, at a postcard held aloft by someone in North Africa.

This comparison is merely intended to convey an idea of what it can do. The telescope is, of course, used to scour the universe.

The latest addition, commissioned in October 1988, is the world's most powerful reflecting telescope.

Its reflector is 3.5 metres (11 ft 6 in) in diameter, or the same size as Calar Alto's, but it includes a number of features that are technological improvements.

Despite the use of land- or satellite-based radiotelescopes the optical variety, relying on light waves rather than radio waves, are still most important.

Weight is the problem. Jumbo lenses are distorted under the burden of their weight.

The optical lens of the New Technology Telescope (NTT) at La Silla is mounted on 78 mobile buffers that cushion its weight.

It is planned as an array of four mirrors costing nearly DM390m and should enable astronomers to look back at the origins of the universe.

ESO officials say the VLT's range will be up to 18 billion light years.

The Big Bang, or origin of the universe, is felt to have occurred about 20 billion light years ago, so the VLT should indeed take astronomers almost back to the beginning of time.

The four reflectors, each eight metres (26 ft 3 in) in diameter, can be combined to form a single surface 16 metres (52 ft 6 in) in diameter.

What is more, a metrological innovation enabled the time spent polishing the lens to be reduced substantially, so that grinding and polishing the blank took a mere 18 months.

Yet the surface is so smoothly polished that light is focused three times better than by other, comparable telescopes.

These improvements and the opportunities they open up have whetted astronomers' appetites for reflectors over five metres (16 ft) in diameter.

Five metres used to be regarded as the largest size that was physically possible.

Reflectors eight, twelve and sixteen metres in diameter are now either under construction or being considered.

In the United States a super-telescope with ten-metre (32.8 ft) reflector is due to start working in 1991. It will be named after its sponsor, William Keck, and built on Mauna Kea, 4,150 metres (13,615 ft), Hawaii.

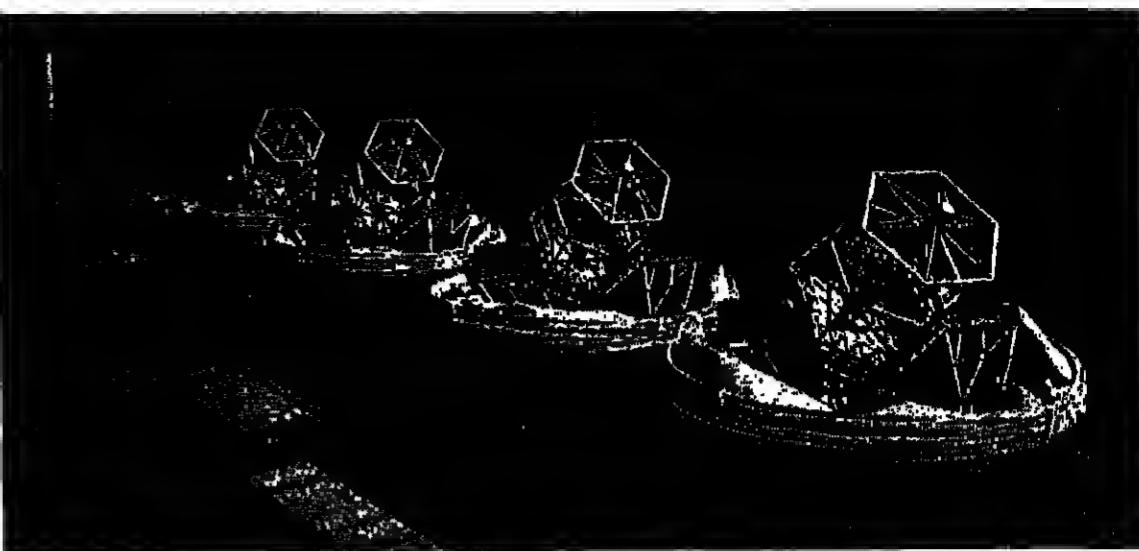
It will be four times more powerful than the telescope on Mount Palomar in California. Its reflector will consist of 36 hexagonal mirrors arranged in a honeycomb fashion to function as a uniform surface.

Computers will monitor the honeycomb, inspecting each segment about 300 times a second, and adjust it electronically, to within 0.0001 mm.

European telescope makers are doubtful whether this principle will work. They feel the problems faced in connection with adjusting the individual segments will prove too difficult.

But that as it may, the Americans plan to commission a 15-metre (53 ft) telescope, the National New Technology Telescope (NNTT), in about 1992.

It will be so powerful, US astronom-



Once upon a time, 18 billion years ago... the planned Very Large Telescope.

(Photo: ESO)

ers say, that they can identify objects the size of a gold dollar 1,000 miles away.

European astronomers plan something bigger too. The 3.5-metre La Silla telescope is to be joined by a bigger brother, the Very Large Telescope (VLT).

The European Southern Observatory is not to decide until next year where it will be built, but it will probably be in the Andes. It will not be ready for use much before the turn of the century.

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Computers will monitor the honeycomb, inspecting each segment about 300 times a second, and adjust it electronically, to within 0.0001 mm.

European telescope makers are doubtful whether this principle will work. They feel the problems faced in connection with adjusting the individual segments will prove too difficult.

But that as it may, the Americans plan to commission a 15-metre (53 ft) telescope, the National New Technology Telescope (NNTT), in about 1992.

It will be so powerful, US astronom-

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## ■ THE THEATRE

## After 25 years, the Wall opens up for a Berlin festival

This year's Berlin Theatertreffen, the 26th, was the most successful ever. For the first time, East German groups took part.

After all this time, 25 years, the East German regime decided to lift its senseless ban.

But there were suspicions — strongly denied — that an internal quota system had been applied. The Federal Republic of Germany had four plays. East Germany was represented with three and Austria and Switzerland each with just one.

The denials of the organisers have to be believed, but only the next festival will show if what they say is, in fact, true and that quality is the yardstick.

The East Germans came out of the festival honourably. Two of their productions, both from Ernst Berlin, were above average. The Maxim Gorki Theater presented Vnker Brun's *Überzeugungsgesellschaft*, produced by Thunias Langhoff. Brun has been called the East German Chekhov.

In the play, the revolutionaries have become weary. People have become bourgeois. They are thankful when they are left in peace. They all exist in an "interim society."

Brun presents a sceptical view of contemporary life and Langhoff bitterly put this on the stage — such an honest assessment of society the other side of the Wall produced astonished admiration among audiences this side of the Wall.

The same was true of Heiner Müller. He re-wrote his 30-year-old play, *Der Lohndrücker*, for the Deutsches Theater and produced it himself.

It is a summing up of the situation in a large "Kombinat" early in the post-war years.

## A New York squat on a Hamburg stage

A parody of myths and modern fairy-tales by the Squat Theater of New York is expected to be one of the highlights of Homburg's Theater der Welt festival.

The Squat Theater's *L'Train to Eldorado*, by Stephen Balint, parodies American soap opera.

The festival is under the patronage of President Richard von Weizsäcker and will be opened by Homburg's mayor, Henning Voscherer.

Honorary president of the festival is Ivon Nagel, who was responsible for organising the first one in 1981. He will also make a speech.

The programme includes 27 groups and solo artists from most European countries, China, Russia, Chile, Australia, America, Canada, South Africa and Mexico.

The productions will be at the Thalia Theater, the Deutsches Schauspielhaus, the Kampnagel theater, the St Pauli Theater and the "Glessel."

The programme also includes two lectures, one on dance theatre and the other on theatrical practice in East Germany.

dpo

(Rheinische Post, Düsseldorf, 24 May 1989)

A furnace fails. A worker reports to repair the breakdown. It is a risky job and he takes risks to life and limb. His colleagues abuse his diligence and even physically threaten him. Without the furnace, the works is only limping along. That suits the men. They see their colleague as a toady, a betrayer of his fellow workers.

The man's heroic efforts to repair the furnace are successful and the Kombinat gets back into action.

Heiner Müller produces this on the stage with poetical emphasis. The indignant workers do not appear as a grey mass of faces. They speak with amazing boldness, all with the same voice.

Party newspapers are mocked. The new socialist company manager, dressed as former capitalists were, has to listen to inflammatory speeches.

Wittily and in part cynically they go on against the current party jargon, and even an awful vision of Stalin appears.

The production was of a high aesthetic quality. We in West Berlin were astonished at the open sincerity of Müller's play and his perfect production.

The third contribution from East Germany was Robertwitsch Erdmann's comedy *Der Selbstmörder*, dealing with Russia in the 1920s. Erdmann himself disappeared soon after the play was written into one of Stalin's camps.

The play was put on by the Schweriner Theater and could not be compared with the others. This production was rather loose, certainly not sure of itself.

There was from Vienne Claus Peymann's Burghauser-Show with Thomas Bernhard's provocative *Burghauser* travesty — but how quickly sensational theatre becomes redundant. Here we saw just the rather repetitive and textually questionable aftermath of Peymann's former scandals.

From Berlin we had the Kleist play *Das Käthchen vom Heilbronn*, directed by Cesare Livi with sets by his brother, Daniele Livi.

The Berlin audience once more sighed and laughed. Jürgen Flimm directed and had in Hans Christian Rudolph an excellent actor for the title role of this melancholy play.

Bremen sent to Berlin Günter Krämer's production of Ernst Barlach's *Armer Vetter*. This was also a highpoint of this festival, full of interesting productions.

At last a Barlach production retaining his North German humour, which is usually neglected, and his deep insight into people.

This festival was very successful with surrealistic as if Chirico in his late period, dream-aliated, had had a hand in the design.

This was pleasing to some extent, but on the whole there was a lack of Kleist's romantic, dramatic fairytale element.

Almost all the West German contributions were splendid, some exciting and

Friedrich Luft (Die Welt, Bonn, 30 May 1989)



Heinz Bennent (left) and Axel Milberg in *Besucher*, shown in Berlin. (Photo: Rabanus)

## Booming words around the guillotine

The Ruhr Festival Ensemble has grouped its own contribution to the Ruhr's major theatre festival around the French Revolution of 1789, under the title "Grosse Freiheit 89."

There was a fair-like presentation of history in front of the Recklinghausen Theatre with pastoral plays, masked groups, tableaux and boozing speeches on the guillotine.

Inside the theatre the public could choose between three simultaneous productions. The stage was subdivided to a 1791 comedy by August von Kotzebue, *Der weibliche Jacobiner-Club*, and Goethe's *Bürgergeneral* of 1793.

In the auditorium there was the première of *Paris-Tahlil*, a dramatic collage from the writings of the Marat's murderer, Charlotte Corday, the man who defended her, Adam Lux and Georg Forster, the writer and revolutionary from Mainz.

Jürgen Fischer and Hermann Kleinzelbeck have concocted these texts into an easily-understood play.

There was also the première of a dramatic experiment produced by the director and choreographer Pavel Mirostik, a concerto for 12 actors and chamber orchestra, entitled *Die Schiller von Voreinen*.

This production dealt with the French Revolution in such a way that from the point of view of the "little people," the inhabitants of the small French village where in June 1792 their king, Louis XVI, was prevented from fleeing to Belgium.

The play is economic in dialogue and has an accented spiritual veneer.

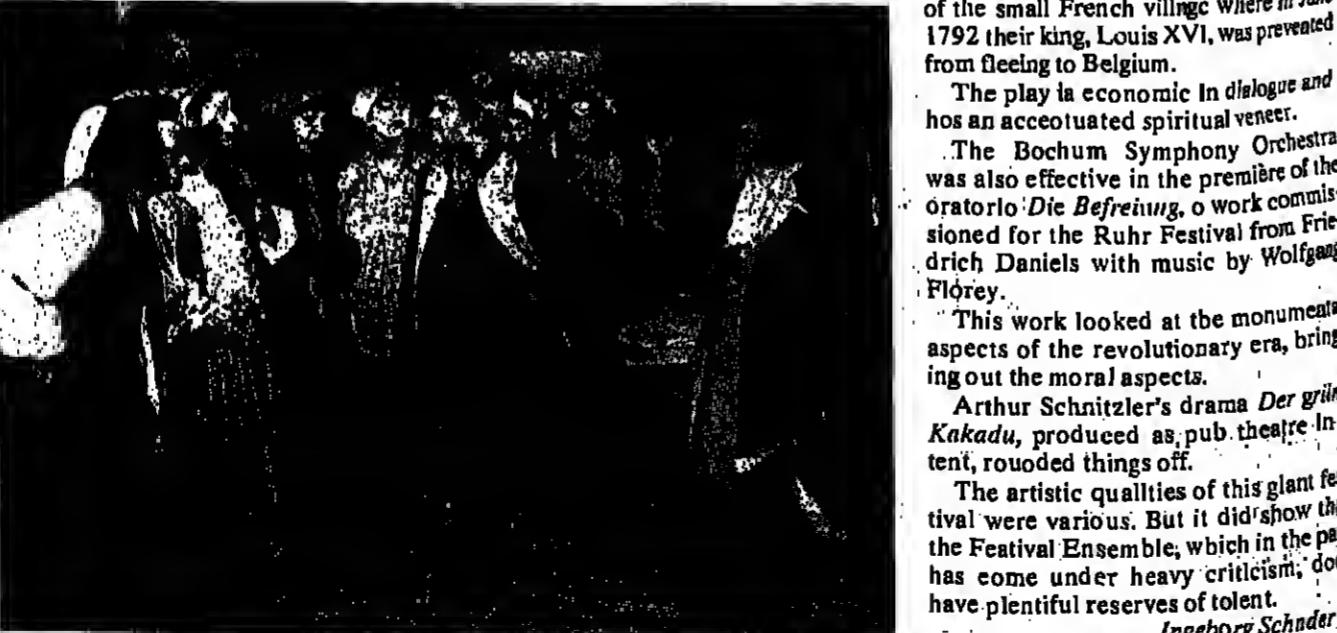
The Bochum Symphony Orchestra was also effective in the première of the oratorio *Die Befreiung*, a work commissioned for the Ruhr Festival from Friedrich Daniels with music by Wolfgang Florey.

This work looked at the monumental aspects of the revolutionary era, bringing out the moral aspects.

Arthur Schnitzler's drama *Der grüne Kakadu*, produced as a pub theatre in tent, rounded things off.

The artistic qualities of this giant festival were various. But it did show that the Festival Ensemble, which in the past has come under heavy criticism, does have plentiful reserves of talent.

Ingeborg Schneider (Mannheimer Morgen, 27 May 1989)



Goethe's *Der Bürgeneral*, at the Ruhr festival. (Photo: Karthaus Jardner)

## ■ THE ARTS

## Where pulling strings is the only way to get ahead

In this article for *Mannheimer Morgen*, Antoinette Schmelter looks at the school to Stuttgart where people are trained to use puppets. But it is not training for entertainers. It is far more serious than that.

At Stuttgart's state-approved College of Music and the Performing Arts, adults play with puppets for adults. It is the only institution in Europe which awards young puppeteers a state-recognised diploma.

There is no room here for the droll, the entertaining or the comical. The concentration is on those areas of puppet theatre which have been little explored. This is not the stuff to bewitch an audience.

Albrecht Roser, the initiator of this unusual course of training in Stuttgart, said: "Puppets are what everyone knows about from childhood, from school or from television, from programmes such as the Augsburg puppet theatre or *Sehnsucht Street*."

"Our fraternity is rarely taken seriously. How often have I asked myself as a puppeteer: What do you really do for a living?"

At the end of the 1970s there was a lot of scepticism about his efforts to organise puppet training. For almost 10 years he unsuccessfully studied singing before deciding, in the end, to take up with something traditional from the children's theatre and adult repertoire, others, like Jens-Erwin Siemmsen from Bremerhaven, from the very outset swaying against the tide.

Siemmsen, 24, played for his entrance examination the story of Creation, directed by himself, with fireworks and lighting on a wireframe so as to improvise *Fasching* afterwards with an electric shaver and hair-dryer.

Roser now has an international reputation. He is the creator of puppets such as the Clown Gustav and the TV Grandma from Stuttgart.

Their repertoire included classics such as *Fasching* and *Genoveva*, mélodramas such as *Notburga, das muster treuer Dienstboten*, bloody tragedies and political plays, which brought down the wrath of the authorities on the travelling performers.

In certain cases the secular and spiritual authorities feared the temptations of the puppet stage so much that they took drastic action against the performers. Without further ado Prince Metternich forbade Austrian puppeteers from speaking on stage — a decree for pantomime which remained valid until well into this century.

One of them was successful enough a year after graduating to be able to go out on his own. Frank Soehnle, 25, together with a puppeteer from East Germany, Thomas Hänsel, opened the puppet theatre, Marotte, in former oven factory in the centre of Karlsruhe.

Dark-haired Frank, whose face showed the effects of the hard work he had put in over the past few months, said that "good productions, imagination

Continued from page 3

possible to indefinitely preserve the status quo in the heart of Europe.

Admittedly, there are neither instant recipes for success nor schedules.

Anyone who expects Gorbachov to take action now or in the foreseeable future assumes that he accepts the standard formula of the right of self-determination for the Germans.

This would mean ignoring both the historical circumstances which led to the division of Germany as well as the current situation in the Soviet Union itself.

Boon's foreign policy politicians take up the Soviet idea of the Common European House, in the knowledge of course that the most important thing is how the house is furnished. So far, however, they do not seem to have realised that they can also play a part in the interior design.

Even after Gorbachov's visit Boon's policy towards Moscow will probably remain peculiarly undecided and lacking in initiative.

The joint declaration at the end of the visit will not be a big success. True to Paul Frank's claim, the German-Soviet relationship will look back on the courageous interludes of Rapallo and the Moscow treaty.

Stephan Martensen

(Deutsches Allgemeines Sonntagsblatt, Hamburg, 2 June 1989)

concession in the disarmament policy field without itself running the risk of being viewed as the mediator between the disarmament front by its partners in the West.

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"In the puppet theatre there are so many possibilities still to be exploited," Frank said, "that we are not short of ideas for looing."

He continued: "You have to be open to new ideas. For our latest children's play *Thomas* and I played around so long with a pile of pillows until I transformed the square things stuffed with feathers into puppets — and so our box-office hit *Klaus auf Reisen* was born."

Antoinette Schmelter (Mannheimer Morgen, 27 May 1989)



Puppeteering at the Stuttgart school. (Photo: PMI)

## EDUCATION

## Too many school pupils queueing up for too few university places

The ZVS, or University Admissions Board, in Dortmund is a name to conjure with twice a year when German school-leavers apply for admission to the university of their choice. Fingers are crossed and breath is bated as the computer processes applications and notifies applicants of acceptance or rejection. How does the system work? The board's press officer, Bernhard Scheer, tells the story in this article for the Bonn daily newspaper *Die Welt*.

When the first truckloads of brochures start arriving at Sonnenplatz in Dortmund, residents are reminded that the ZVS, or University Admissions Board, is girding its loins for the fray.

Early each summer it sends out over half a million brochures to would-be students to enable them to acquaint themselves with the application procedure.

The ZVS has a printshop of its own with an output of 2.2 million sheets of paper a year: application forms, admissions lists and so on.

Individual applicants are notified, but so are school, university and labour exchange advice bureaux.

Despite the need to standardise correspondence the ZVS tries to retain a personal note in its dealings with would-be students.

The franking machines handle nearly 850,000 letters a year. This personal contact is seen as an essential counterweight to the thankless task of administering fewer university places than there are would-be students.

The Dortmund board is keen to provide personal service so as not to be equated, as a soulless symbol, with the gap between supply and demand in university education.

"An applicant who is turned down," says Henning Berlin, the ZVS's director, "must not gain the impression that the ZVS has merely pulled bureaucratic strings to prevent him from studying."

"When an applicant is turned down it must be seen to be the result of a shortage of university places and not of the way in which the ZVS, as an impartial arbiter, handles applications."

All applicants are sent a computer print-out of their data indicating whether mistaken information might jeopardise

the applicant's opportunity of gaining university admission or information that has not been supplied might exclude him (or her) from the selection procedure.

About 20,000 winter semester applicants are notified of such errors. Most of them do something about them.

Yet about 3,000 are excluded from the selection procedure because, for instance, they have failed to specify a valid course or failed to take the medical.

By the time the board starts mailing application forms, starting the procedure, rolling months have elapsed since preparations began.

The ZVS is jointly run by the 11 *Länder* and its first task is to coordinate their differing political views.

Joint sessions are held to work out the details of the admissions procedure, subject to fundamental problems that occur from time to time.

An overriding recent problem has been the demand for business studies courses.

Until the winter semester of 1988/89 there were enough places to go round. They were merely allocated. All the

education ministers will consider how many extra university places have been created by a special expansion programme jointly sponsored by the Federal and *Land* governments.

The programme is scheduled to run for seven years. It will entail investment totalling DM2.1bn.

In mid-March when the initial decision to impose a *numerus clausus* was reached, no-one knew how many extra places might be created in the first year of the special programme.

This allocation procedure has been followed since the winter semester of 1975/76. It is the key to providing university places for all applicants.

The alternative is a *numerus clausus*, or first-past-the-post arrangement, for university courses for which the demand exceeds the supply.

In subjects where this is not the case the *Länder* guarantee all applicants a place, although it need not be at the university of their choice.

If the demand marginally exceeds the supply, funds are allocated to provide extra places.

In recent semesters there have been over twice as many business studies applicants as places available, with the result that the *Länder* were no longer agreed on what to do.

Hamburg and Berlin in particular no longer felt able to invest more money in overcrowded business studies facilities.

Business studies courses were rationed this summer semester. There were 5,600 applicants, of whom 3,500 were granted places and 2,400 enrolled as first-semester students.

Political decisions of this kind can have a dramatic effect on the board's work. Handling applications for university places in *numerus clausus* subjects is roughly twice as expensive as the simpler allocation procedure.

The board cannot tell how much work there will be. Last winter semester there were over 20,000 applicants for business studies courses. Would the *numerus clausus* deter a substantial number?

Demand was estimated at 17,000, but the ZVS has to be prepared to handle either a trickle or a flood.

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Bernhard Scheer  
(Die Welt, Bonn, 31 May 1989)

## Big demand for business studies course

Reutlingen in Baden-Württemberg shares with London, Madrid and Reims the distinction of having run for 10 years a European business studies (EBS) programme.

Caroline Grant from Manchester is read business studies in Reutlingen for nearly two years. Fellow-student Christian Bergmann first studied in Reims. Bijan Khajehpour would like to spend his next two years in London.

All are now reading business studies in Reutlingen, where the tenth anniversary of the European business studies programme is being fittingly celebrated.

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Bernhard Scheer  
(Die Welt, Bonn, 31 May 1989)

Continued on page 13

## THE ENVIRONMENT

## Row erupts over levels of pesticides in drinking water

The writer, Stuttgart chemist Manfred Häfner, is head of department at the Baden-Württemberg Plant Protection Research Establishment; he has been an expert on pesticide residues for over 15 years.

Ground water in parts of Germany is so heavily pesticide-polluted that ceilings which will shortly come into force are already exceeded substantially, says the Gas and Water Industry Association.

A European Community limit of 0.5 micrograms of pesticide per litre of drinking-water is to apply from next October.

An estimated 100 tonnes of pesticide a day is spread and sprayed in German fields, gardens and parks, says an industry spokesman, so no water board can be sure that pesticides will not seep into its ground water.

There is nothing new about the news that much of the ground water on which German water boards draw for tap water is pesticide-polluted.

Thirty thousand tonnes of pesticide a year is spread and sprayed, and the pesticides in use include 300 different chemicals.

In mid-May the Federal Health Office, Berlin, joined the fray with a compromise proposal. If the German water authorities draw up, adopt and submit details of a modernisation programme, why not waive the new ceiling for a decade?

For 10 years, the Berlin agency suggests, water boards might be allowed to exceed twenty-five times the European Community ceiling of 0.5 micrograms per litre. Consumer groups and environmentalists were not, to put it mildly, amused.

The debate is now so heated that the time has come to take a closer look at

the background to the Federal Health Office's proposals.

The ceiling is based on the European Community's 1980 guideline on "the quality of water for human use." It specifies a limit of 0.1 micrograms per litre for each individual pesticide and a cumulative maximum of 0.5 micrograms per litre.

The European Community arrived at these ratings on a precautionary basis. In other words, they are well below the level at which pesticide concentrations are likely to be a health hazard.

In 1980 the Community's member-countries had virtually no practical experience of measurements in such minute quantities, so the limits were proposed as an incentive to develop more sensitive analysis procedures.

In mid-May the Federal Health Office, Berlin, joined the fray with a compromise proposal. If the German water authorities draw up, adopt and submit details of a modernisation programme, why not waive the new ceiling for a decade?

Analysis techniques not yet having been updated, the new limits were not to come into force for another three years, the deadline for their introduction being 1 October 1989.

Analysis techniques have since been devised for nearly all relevant pesticides, and research chemists and laboratory assistants have grown accustomed to what are highly sensitive procedures.

These new techniques have shown many analysis findings reported in years gone by to have been either too high or totally wrong.

It is not true, as initially feared, that all German drinking-water contains different counts of all manner of pesticides.

The latest information is that roughly nine out of 10 water boards in the Federal Republic supply mains water with tolerable pesticide counts.

The remaining 10 per cent exceed the limits mainly for three to four specific pesticides of which Atrazine is the front runner.

In 1987 the World Health Organisation entered the fray. WHO experts endorsed the 1980 European Community ruling that no pesticide traces whatever ought to be found in drinking-water.

As soon as they were identified in drinking-water it was high time for farmers to undertake a critical reappraisal of their use of pesticides.

Unlike the European Commission, the WHO took the toxic effects of pesticides on humans into account and laid

down ceilings for individual pesticides that as a rule were much higher than the European Community's 0.1 micrograms per litre.

The WHO ceiling for Atrazine, for instance, is twenty times higher than the level adopted by the European Community.

In the wake of the 1987 WHO rulings many countries have increasingly been guided by the criteria of human toxicology, i.e. the human health hazard.

Since 1988 neighbouring Austria, for instance, has had an Atrazine ceiling of two micrograms per litre, while the Yugoslav limit is five micrograms.

The US Environmental Protection Agency specifies an upper limit of three micrograms of Atrazine per litre of drinking-water, while views within the European Community have long ceased to tally.

Italy broke ranks in 1986 and laid down an Atrazine ceiling of one microgram per litre; it was increased to 1.7 micrograms in 1987. The British ceiling is a horse-and-cart 30 micrograms per litre.

Germany is contrnust plans to stick to the European Community specifications. Proposals have been drawn up, including modernisation of waterworks that fall to measure up to these exacting standards.

Initial modernisation measures have already been undertaken. The *Länder* are designating larger areas of land as protected zones where, in accordance with 1988 regulations, the use of about 70 pesticides is prohibited.

As far as they can now tell, scientists say, pesticide counts in excess of the European Community guideline level but within the limits so far reported do not constitute a human health hazard.

Yet stricter regulations in zoned areas are always a sound precaution and the best means of ensuring that drinking-water stays fit to drink.

These precautions are still being costed.

A final point that must not be forgotten is that substances resulting from the processing of drinking-water and in daily industrial or domestic use are no less of a health hazard.

They include chloroform, tetrachloro-carbon and trichloroethylene, all of which have been classified as carcinogens.

Concentrations of up to 25 micrograms of chloroform and trichloroethylene and three micrograms of tetrachloro-carbon per litre of drinking-water are permitted.

Pesticides are, when all is said and done, only one of many problems faced by ground and drinking-water.

Manfred Häfner  
(Stuttgarter Zeitung, 27 May 1989)

## Meteorological stations all over the world



supplied the data arranged in see-at-a-glance tables in these new reference works. They include details of air and water temperature, precipitation, humidity, sunshine, physical stress of climate, wind conditions and frequency of thunderstorms.

These figures can be used to compare climatic data for planning journeys to distant countries and for scientific research.

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Continued from page 12

companies are rare. "Linguistic and mentality barriers are broken down too," Professor Tümmers says.

Students are inevitably confronted with the history and sociology of the other country. Reutlingen EBS graduates' career prospects are "very good." They get to know prospective employers during their traineeships.

Cooperation between the four universities is not always plain sailing, says Professor Eva Marie Haberfein, who coordinates courses.

Coordination of courses and examinations is a keynote of the programme. It is often the result of tough negotiations. Different educational techniques

need to be standardised to ensure that identical examinations can be held simultaneously at all four universities.

But expansion is planned. Reutlingen is on the lookout for colleges in other countries

## ■ HORIZONS

## A young man in a hurry keeps a critical eye on the media



The competition is sleeping, says Sebastian Turner.

(Photo: Aneke Littmann)

**H**igh flyers are as rare among young journalists as among people in other jobs. If someone has flair and creativity in addition to intellect, and a sense of enterprise as well, he or she is liable to be a pace-setter.

Sebastian Turner, 22, is one such an exception. Publisher, journalist, advertising man and (still) student — yet he has neither the air of the snoot yuppie about him nor the aura of the dynamic young businessman. He relies on experience and competence.

As a 14 year old in 1981 he and some fellow pupils at school in Stuttgart founded *Der Punkt* (The Point), which regularly won awards as the best school newspaper in Germany. In 1984 it was

named as the best school newspaper by the German youth press umbrella organisation. Turner maintained his interest in his contemporaries and found more interesting things to do like going to discos. He tossed around ideas and thought about articles and layouts. He explains: "Swabians (Swabia is in southwest Germany. Stuttgart is the main city) have a pathological sense of business and that has rubbed off on me." In 1984, after much intensive thought, he brought out *Stijour*, a magazine with a circulation of 20,000 that was distributed to 25 schools in the Stuttgart area. This type of inter-school publication was not allowed, according to *Laud* education ministry regulations. But this didn't distract Turner. He went ahead and ran provocative interviews with politicians with the aim of stirring reader interest.

It was while he was in the army that he got the idea for his new project, *MEDIUM MAGAZIN*, an independent journal aimed at young journalists from school magazine reporters and editors to beginners on newspapers.

Turner said the intention was to fill a gap in the market. He describes the material then available for young journalists as "bile."

The first edition appeared on 1 April 1986. Turner, the founder, was also publisher, editor, layout artist, promotions chief, advertising manager and business manager.

Only people who know the industry can understand how much sweat went into producing the paper. He continued

Continued on page 15



Despite the stink of petrol... aircraft builder Gustav Mesmer.

(Photo: Velt Müller)

## A magnificent man's not-quite flying machines

**G**ustav Mesmer, 86, builds musical instruments and aircraft. But he doesn't like noise and the stink of petrol, so his aircraft don't have engines.

He has managed to get off the ground in his contraptions — and crashed. And he's come through relatively unscathed to be able to tell the tale. His machines either fly off and never get very far away from earth or they don't get off the ground at all. His umhrella helicopter, for example, and his double-kite flying bicycle, have never left terra firma.

In his workshop, the walls are covered in drawings and models. For hours on end he hammers and saws away until the old tins, wooden planks, plastic bags, mattress feathers and metres of wire taken from cars and can be attached to a bicycle so he can go out and once more take up the fight against the forces of gravity.

He is of course not quite as dare-devil as he used to be, even if he does continue to make machines. He hasn't had an easy life. He was born in 1903 in the south German centre of Altshausen. Because of illness, he had to stop going to school after three years.

As an adult, he spent six years in a monastery, but had to give that up because of ill health. For years he lived in a home for the mentally ill until, in 1964, he was allowed to move into a home for the aged in Münzingen, Lauterl, south of Stuttgart.

He is a master of the subtle change, running between the borders of the embarrassing and the saucy, between the perverse and the polemic. Or as Ringsgwandl himself puts it: "I ridicule people."

Even among people he knows, he is uninhibited and sends them up. Sometimes he overdoes it. At a private show before 100 people who were supposed to know him well, disaster struck.

The guests rose as one and left the hall. Ringsgwandl apologised, saying: "Sometimes I get so involved that I don't know any more what I am saying. Then I am not really accountable for my actions."

The entertainer-doctor was born into a Bavarian family of modest means. His father was a postman. It was clear that son Georg would have problems reconciling both sides of his life.

"If I sang in a church choir, everything would be much easier. But merely because I go in for rock and cabaret, no one would ever forgive me if I made a mistake as a doctor."

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scruffy body and swimming cap as decoration for the head.

On the stage, there is very little that he won't do. In his Bavarian dialect, he sets his sights on bourgeois values and, with an almost cringed style of delivery, takes his gag lines to their ultimate.

During his acts, he changes his roles

— from the macho figure with sunglasses to an androgynous being with a

## Rock-singer doctor: sending them up or fixing them up



Sometimes I don't know what I'm saying... Rockdoctor Ringsgwandl.

(Photo: Teutopress)

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role as a minister with responsibility for certain areas of public health. Ringsgwandl is described on the posters as "greasy, bigoted, flipped out."

He is a master of the subtle change, running between the borders of the embarrassing and the saucy, between the perverse and the polemic. Or as Ringsgwandl himself puts it: "I ridicule people."

Even among people he knows, he is uninhibited and sends them up. Sometimes he overdoes it. At a private show before 100 people who were supposed to know him well, disaster struck.

The guests rose as one and left the hall. Ringsgwandl apologised, saying: "Sometimes I get so involved that I don't know any more what I am saying. Then I am not really accountable for my actions."

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